

INTER RACIAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL FOR CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY



NATIONAL DEFENSE AND THE NEGRO

•

JACQUES MARITAIN ON HUMAN EQUALITY

•

THE RIGHT TO WORK

George Streater

•

JUSTICE FOR NEGRO AMERICANS

EDITORIAL

•

EDITORIALS • REVIEWS • STATISTICS



Castel Gandolfo, Oct. 27 (A.P.). — Pope Pius XII in the first Encyclical of his reign blamed "the denial of God" for leading the world to war and pleaded for peace today.

— *The New York Sun*

SUMMI PONTIFICATUS



The First Encyclical of His Holiness Pope Pius XII



THE ENCYCLICAL, *Summi Pontificatus*, WILL BE DISTRIBUTED IN PAMPHLET FORM BY THE AMERICA PRESS AND ARRANGED FOR STUDY CLUBS WITH QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES.

PAMPHLET RATES

50 for \$2.25
100 for \$4.00
1,000 for \$30.00

Postage extra on bulk orders
Single copy: 10 cents by mail

ORDER FROM

THE AMERICA PRESS

53 PARK PLACE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

ST. EMMA INDUSTRIAL & AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE

ROCK CASTLE, VA.

FOUNDED 1895

*Conducted by the Benedictine Fathers of
St. Vincent Archabbey*

The Institute offers specialized training in Vocational and Industrial courses.

The department of agriculture includes in its program

*Stock-Raising — Dairying — Poultry Production
— Truck-Farming.*

The Trades School offers technical and practical courses in

*Auto Mechanics — Electrical Construction —
Masonry — Plumbing and Steam-Fitting — Tailoring
— Shoe Making and Repairing.*

A four-year standard High School course is given
Military Training, Athletics, Music
Rates Reasonable

*For Catalog and further information address
The Rev. Director, O. S. B.
St. Emma I & A Institute, Rock Castle, Va.*

XAVIER UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON AVENUE AND PINE STREET

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA



*Conducted by
The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament*



THE UNIVERSITY INCLUDES:

The School of Social Service
The School of Fine Arts
The Pre-Medical School
The College of Liberal Arts
The College of Pharmacy
The School of Education



*For further information address
THE REGISTRAR*

INTERRACIAL REVIEW

May-1941

Vol. XIV No. 5

Christian Democracy

Christian Democracy rejects artificial inequalities due to racial myths, material greed or physical violence and recognizes only such accidental inequalities as necessarily accompany human life at all times and in all places.

As the objective of the Catholic interracial program, we define Christian Democracy as a society in which the God-given dignity and destiny of every human person is fully recognized, in laws, government, institutions and human conduct.

POSTULATES

- The Catholic Interracial Program has a twofold aim: (1) the combating of race prejudice; (2) the attainment of social justice for the whole social group regardless of race.
- "Nothing does more harm to the progress of Christianity and is more against its spirit than . . . race prejudice amongst Christians. — There is nothing more widely spread in the Christian world."
— *Jacques Maritain*
- "From the evidence on hand today, we cannot scientifically prove that the Nordic or the Negro are superior or inferior, one to the other."
— *Rev. John M. Cooper*
- The interracial problem is the greatest world problem of today. It is the major threat to international peace. In America the interracial problem is one of grave national concern. It is perhaps the biggest problem confronting the Catholic Church in America.
- "Intolerance towards Negroes in the United States is perhaps the acme of the racial intolerance of modern nationalism."
— *Carlton J. H. Hayes*
- The spiritual aspect of the Catholic interracial program flows from the common membership of all races in the Mystical Body of Christ and the common expression of this unity in the Church's liturgy.
- Prejudice on the part of Catholic laity is a barrier to the conversion of the Negro and a trial to the new found Faith of the Negro convert.
- "We must concede that the natural rights of the Negro are identical in number and sacredness to the rights of white persons."
— *Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, S.T.D.*
- Catholic principles maintaining the equality of all men and upholding the sanctity of the Negro's natural rights, impose upon all Catholics a rule of conduct which must be followed, regardless of any temporary inconveniences, apprehensions or difficulties that may be encountered.

Editorials

JUSTICE FOR NEGRO	
AMERICANS	67
SCORE ONE FOR HARVARD	68
THE ENCYCLICALS AND THE	
NEGRO	69
A CATHOLIC DEFENSE	
PROGRAM	69
FATHER LYONS	70

Articles

JACQUES MARITAIN ON HUMAN	
EQUALITY	71
NATIONAL DEFENSE AND	
NEGRO AMERICANS	72
ST. LOUIS PROGRAM	74

Features

THE INTERRACIAL FIELD	66
THIS MONTH AND NEXT	66
XAVIER UNIVERSITY NOTES	70
THE RIGHT TO WORK	75
AS YOUTH SEES IT	76
PLAYS AND A POINT OF VIEW ..	77
FROM HERE AND THERE	
DURING THE MONTH	79
BOOKS	80

INTERRACIAL REVIEW

The INTERRACIAL REVIEW is published monthly at 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y. Ten cents per copy; one dollar per year.

Entered as second-class matter, November 13, 1934, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized January 28, 1929.

Address all communications regarding advertising to the INTERRACIAL REVIEW at the above address. Telephone, REctor 2-5417.

The Interracial Field

INTERESTING STATISTICS

Number of Negroes in U. S.....	13,000,000
Estimated Number of Protestant Negroes...	5,000,000
Estimated Number of Catholic Negroes.....	300,000
Estimated Number Unchurched.....	7,750,000
Number of Negroes Attending Colleges.....	23,038

Number of Catholic Negro Churches.....	282
Number of Catholic Negro Schools.....	263
Negro Enrollment in Catholic Schools.....	50,000
Priests Engaged in Colored Missions.....	450
Sisters Engaged in Colored Missions.....	1,600

Negroes in New York City.....	327,726
Negroes in Chicago.....	233,000
Negroes in Philadelphia.....	219,000
Negroes in Washington.....	132,068

Let's Give It Some Thought

IT IS TO BE HOPED that the recent nationwide broadcast of Negro stars of the stage, concert hall and radio, in conjunction with New York civic officials, calling attention to the fact that Negroes are being excluded from jobs in defense industries, will have had the effect of persuading the public to give some thought to the sorry economic plight in which Negroes generally find themselves in this country. On account of color they are excluded from most of the occupations in which others may freely engage; only the menial and poorly paid jobs are open to them. On account of their limited opportunities, the lot of many living in the big cities is hard. Speaking economically, the statistics show that Negro labor wages are not on a parity with those of whites. In a number of industries employing Negro women their wages are hardly above the starvation point.

Negroes constitute ten per cent of our country's population. They must live and are entitled to at least earn a living. To hear that they are excluded from the defense industries at a time when there is a great demand for workers calls for some thinking not only on the part of the people but the Government as well. We who have loudly proclaimed that it is our mission to liberate the peoples of the "little democracies" from political thralldom and economic slavery ought not to overlook a graver problem lying right at the front door of our own "big" democracy.

—*Extension, May, 1941*

This Month and Next

THIS ISSUE contains the third and concluding installment of "Jacques Maritain on Human Equality". We are happy to have presented the views of this distinguished Catholic philosopher . . . We call attention to our leading editorial, "Justice for Negro Americans", which discusses the most important issue in the entire field of race relations . . . This issue also contains the full text of the statement of the committee organized to combat discrimination in the defense program . . . George Streater, who writes on the problems of labor, under the heading, "The Right to Work", discusses the function of education. His articles are timely and important.

* * * * *

Commemorates Encyclicals

Members of the Catholic Laymen's Union and their friends attended Communion Mass last Sunday in celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the "Rerum Novarum" of Pope Leo XIII. The Mass was held in Old St. Peter's Church, Barclay Street, followed by Communion Breakfast at the Terminal Banquet Room. Among those present were many who are actively associated with the interracial program. The principal speaker was the Rev. James A. Magner of Catholic University.

Father Magner pointed out that the principles of the Encyclical stand in striking contrast to totalitarian philosophy that represents man "as the servant of the all powerful state". "Christian teaching alone," he said, "can give full meaning and compelling motive to the demand for human rights and beliefs because it alone gives worth and dignity to human personality".

Speaking on "The Negro Family and the Encyclical", Theophilus Lewis, a Catholic Negro and dramatic critic for the *Interracial Review*, said that "in defense of the family the great social encyclicals have so clearly demonstrated the wisdom of the Holy Father that even those who are opposed to its principles are today forced to agree with its position."

Harold A. Stevens, a Negro lawyer, pointed out "that as a Negro and a member of a minority group which has felt most keenly the sting of social injustices, we are perhaps best fitted to relate the significance of the social teachings of the Encyclical to the Negro group."

George Streater, well-known writer and lecturer, stressed the need of racial cooperation along the lines of Negro employment "to prevent," he said, "the development of a form of racialism which can resemble in many ways the Klu Klux Klan among white people in the South".

The concluding speaker was the Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., Associate Editor of *America*, and the chaplain of the Catholic Laymen's Union.

INTERRACIAL REVIEW

EDITORIAL BOARD

EDWARD E. BEST, M.D. REGINALD KENNEDY
MATHIEU V. BOUTTE FRANCIS S. MOSELEY
GEORGE K. HUNTON, Managing Editor

Editorial & Publication Office

INTERRACIAL REVIEW

20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.

Published Monthly by the

Catholic Interracial Council

HARRY MCNEILL	President
MATHIEU V. BOUTTE	1st Vice-President
HAROLD A. STEVENS	2nd Vice-President

NICHOLAS A. DONNELLY	Treasurer
GEORGE K. HUNTON	Secretary
EMANUEL A. ROMERO	Recorder

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

GERARD L. CARROLL, Chairman
EDWARD E. BEST, M.D.
MATHIEU V. BOUTTE
NICHOLAS A. DONNELLY
ARCHIBALD F. GLOVER
HAROLD P. HERMAN
JAMES J. HOEY
GEORGE K. HUNTON

STEPHEN S. JACKSON
CASWELL P. JOHNSON
REGINALD T. KENNEDY
MAURICE LAVANOUX
HARRY MCNEILL
FRANCIS S. MOSELEY

JAMES C. O'CONNOR
HUDSON J. OLIVER, M.D.
MYLES A. PAIGE
C. G. PAULDING
EMANUEL A. ROMERO
HAROLD A. STEVENS
EDWARD SHERMAN
MACEO A. THOMAS

REV. JOHN LAFARGE, S.J., Chaplain

Vol. XIV

MAY, 1941

No. 5

JUSTICE FOR NEGRO AMERICANS

A historic statement on National Defense and Negro Americans was issued on May 7 by the Committee on Negro Americans in the Defense Industries. The committee grew out of repeated conferences among prominent educators and leaders of both races. Sixty persons, as distinguished and representative a group as could be found in the United States, signed the statement. It included such persons as Governor Lehman of New York and Mayor LaGuardia; James McDonald Comer, president of the Avondale Mills, Birmingham, Ala.; John M. Glenn, Director of the Russell Sage Foundation; Harold G. Moulton, president of the Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.; the Presidents of the University of North Carolina, Yale, Howard, Tuskegee Institute; Harper Sibley, former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce; representatives of Labor; prominent clergymen of various religious bodies; industrialists and editors, North and South, etc.

More noteworthy, even, than the names of the sign-

ers were the alacrity and enthusiasm with which the signatures were communicated. Each signer expressed a deep and articulate conviction that the critical condition of our country's defense demanded such an explicit utterance. From the speed and earnestness with which replies were given, it was clear that ten times as many signatures could have been obtained were there occasion for devoting time to such a task.

Text of the statement appears elsewhere in this issue. It contains a vigorous protest against an unjust and totally uncalled-for intrusion of crass race prejudice into a field where the highest degree of cooperation is needed among all citizens, regardless of race, color or creed. The protest is against a specific abuse committed by specific persons and organizations. The instances cited are not guesses. The assertions are the result of painstaking, personal investigation by members of the committee and are accompanied by ample documentation, most of which is in the hands of the Office of Production Management in Washington; much of which has already led

to investigations on the part of Mr. Knudsen and to specific directions issued by Mr. Hillman. Some of these matters have already been discussed in previous numbers of this Review.

More vital, however, even than the protest is the positive utterance of principles that the statement has laid down. These principles are not drawn from mere expediency, but from religion, morals and true patriotism. The abuses, all honest men trust, will soon be rectified, but the principles remain: that "the time has come for the lasting repudiation of race prejudice as an influence in determining the policies of the nation;" and that any compromise with race prejudice is a mortal blow to the much-heralded democracy of our country, to the nation's unity and morale at home, and reputation abroad.

To the futile objection, if it can be dignified with such a name, that the present time is not fit to "raise these issues," the statement makes a direct reply that the *present* time above any other calls for their enunciation of the truth. Precisely at the *outset* of this vast, all-embracing industrial program, which will profoundly transform the nation's economy, steps must be taken to prevent its crystalizing into a racial pattern that will be accepted as final in the future if allowed to go by default in the beginning. Race prejudice must be *nominatim* condemned; interracial justice positively asserted.

No one class or element is blamed for the violation of the principles of interracial justice. Whether the fault is with management, labor or the public, the matter deserves "thorough and impartial investigation."

"The plea," wrote the New York *Times* in an editorial on the day of the release, "deserves instant attention." A nation, it observed, which is "engaged on the side of democracy . . . must leave the doors of opportunity open to all, regardless of race."

That the statement stands on unshakeable ground in its consciousness that qualified Negro workmen can work successfully and harmoniously with management and labor alike, is shown by the responses to OPM pressure in this matter which appeared only a few days after the release. The Curtiss-Wright Corporation, which makes military aircraft, notified Mr. Hillman that it could employ Negro trainees and that several of these had already been enrolled in their school. John T. Pew, president of the Sun Shipbuild-

ing and Dry Dock Company at Chester, Pa., reported that ten per cent of their employes are colored men, employed in a wide variety of departments. Similar was the response of G. J. Throckmorton, president of the RCA Manufacturing Company, Camden, N. J., and A. C. Greeson, president of the Greeson Manufacturing Corporation, Birmingham, Ala., and the Michigan State Employment Service. "Every week," replied the Service, "placements are being made of Negroes in occupations in which we have never before been able to place them. Screw-machine operators, lathe operators, electricians, gear bobbars (machine shop), welders and skilled foundry workers such as bench, floor and hand molders as well as coremakers of all kinds."

It is peculiarly opportune that this statement appears during the very month that the world celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of Leo XIII's great Charter of Labor. "The condition of the working classes," wrote the Pontiff, "is the pressing question of the hour; and nothing can be of higher interest to all classes of the State than that it should be rightly and reasonably settled."

There can be, however, no right or reasonable settlement as long as those who have prepared themselves to earn their bread with their hands are wantonly and ruthlessly denied the opportunity which is their as citizens and as human persons. There can only be disaster for the nation as a consequence. In order that such disaster be averted while it yet time, this statement is commended to the careful attention of all thoughtful and responsible members of the community.

Score One For Harvard

The old saying about England's battles being fought on the playing fields of Eton must be given a new twist to meet a situation that has cropped up occasionally in American intercollegiate sports. Apparently a not unimportant part of the interracial front lies inside the college campuses. The refusal of teams to meet others in which Negro students are represented has too often resulted in a backdown from democratic principles that educational institutions are expected to inculcate and foster. It is encouraging that some protests, as in the case of New York University last October, have been made; but it is particularly gratifying that a

very definite stand has been taken against unwarranted discrimination against Negro athletes by the Harvard authorities,

Hereafter Harvard University will countenance no attempt to prevent its Negro students from taking part in intercollegiate contests. Following the disbarment by the United States Naval Academy of Lucien V. Alexis, Jr., a Negro player on the Harvard lacrosse team, from taking part in a recent game at Annapolis, Harvard's Director of Athletics, William J. Bingham, requested and received a statement of policy that puts the university squarely against any attempts to violate the fundamental sportsmanship of intercollegiate contests.

A European refugee, writing to the *New York Times* on the N. Y. U. incident, made this comment: "What first aroused my interest and then my deep annoyance was the fact that in this wonderful, free country—a phrase I am using here, not in the so-often applied sarcastic or jocular sense, but in the very truest sense of the words—it is possible that supposedly well-educated people can voice their wish to exclude a member of their prospective opponents' team for no other reason than that said member happens to be colored."

The Encyclicals and the Negro

IN THIS year 1941, May-15th has a special significance to all Catholics throughout the world. Fifty years ago Pope Leo XIII issued the great Encyclical "On the Condition of Labor" and ten years ago a great successor, Pius XI issued another great pronouncement "On the Reconstruction of the Social Order".

It is of prime importance that students of these great social documents should recognize their universal application. As Father LaFarge, writing in *America*, points out: "an Encyclical, from its very name and character, is a *universal* letter, addressed to all the Faithful through their Bishops; and through the Church to the attention of the entire world. No nation, therefore, no group can be exempt either from its warnings or its benefits".

Too often have white Catholics overlooked the fact that these pronouncements applied equally to *all* groups. However, with the passing of years, the principles and teachings of the Encyclicals have be-

come better known to more Catholics. This, together with the growth of the Catholic interracial movement, has brought about a recognition of the fact that the principles of the Encyclicals are particularly applicable to plight of the Negro. It is now evident that the Popes' indictments of existing evils in the social order are perfectly exemplified in the Negro community. Where can we find a more glaring example of the denial of the right to a living wage than that experienced by the American Negro? The grim consequences of social injustice may be seen in every local Harlem. Here we find a vivid portrayal of the devastating results of extreme poverty, malnutrition, bad housing, the denial of the normal opportunities of life.

The principles enunciated by Popes Leo and Pius give added incentive to the Catholic interracial movement. On the one hand, the Encyclicals call for a program that would complete the Emancipation of the Negro. Furthermore, it would seem that as the Catholic laity become better acquainted with these social principles they will understand that it is impossible to establish an era of social justice if interracial justice is ignored.

A Catholic Defense Program

In a previous issue, we discussed the place of interracial justice in the Catholic education curriculum. We return to the subject to reiterate this point: the sooner that interracial justice is established as a subject in our educational framework, the sooner will its ideals be realized in practice.

The Catholic interracial program aims at removing, as far as it is able, the fallacious and un-Christlike doctrines which have made it difficult for Negro Americans to secure social justice in American society. Its efforts are directed toward influencing all classes of Catholics, from the influential and prosperous to the poor and lowly. It believes that in the cause of interracial justice all Catholics can and should seek opportunities for doing good. The more learned one is and the more richly endowed with material blessings, the greater is the obligation to spread the gospel of interracial goodwill and cooperation.

Our training camps should be in the Catholic school. In almost 10,000 elementary and secondary

schools, where nearly 2,500,000 children are being trained by close to 60,000 Catholic teachers, we can prepare our defenses against the menace of Racism. Our officers must come from the Catholic universities and colleges where, as part of their equipment for leadership, in the secular world outside, the graduate will have learned how effectively to combat every manifestation of racial disorder.

Father Lyons

In the death of the Rev. John M. Lyons, S.J., of St. Louis, Mo., the *Interracial Review* has lost one of its earliest and most loyal friends. The Review first came to light at St. Elizabeth's Church, on West Pine Boulevard, in that city, in the form first of *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle*, later *The Chronicle*, with the Rev. William M. Markoe, S.J., as Editor and Pastor of the parish.

Father Lyons' collaboration for long years with Father Markoe took a unique form. Father Lyons' experience as founder and for many years Director of the Catholic Instruction League had taught him the immense reservoir of lay activity which could be developed in the field of catechetics. At St. Elizabeth's he initiated the "R Schools"; which taught Religion as the fourth "R" essential to elementary education. The plan of the R Schools was the utmost possible distribution, by bringing religious instruction close to the people through catechetical centers in the humblest private homes, taught by trained lay catechists. The R Schools multiplied like magic, and brought the truths of the Faith home to thousands of Negro adults and children in every part of St. Louis. This similar plan has met with corresponding success in Philadelphia and other centers of the country with large Negro population.

To this work Father Lyons added his incredible devotion to the sick and dying Negroes in the hospitals of whom thousands found their way through the portals of Heaven as a result of the Sacrament of Baptism which in truly apostolic fashion he was tireless in administering.

Simple and unaffected, Father Lyons was an outstanding example of the vast good that can be accomplished by the man who uses what gifts he has without stint, and makes charity the supreme rule of his life.

Notes From

XAVIER UNIVERSITY

The First Catholic College for Negro Youth

SCIENTIFIC EXHIBIT

Scientific demonstrations and exhibits of practically every thing from an amoeba to a human being climaxed the second annual Science Night sponsored by the students of the colleges of Science and Pharmacy, and the school of pre-medics at Xavier. Talented members of these departments of the University captured the interest of the throng of visitors who came to witness the occasion. Particularly interesting were the exhibits of the manufacture of drugs, giving authentic "behind-the-prescription-counter" pictures of the manufacture of drugs, and an interesting survey of modern technique in the field of chemical analysis, bacteriology, and micro-technique.

LENTEN DRAMA

The Little Theatre group of the University presented a touching version of William M. Lamer's remarkable drama, "Calvary," a powerful drama of the Passion of Our Lord. The brilliant cast included: Arnaud Mitchell as Caiphas, Joseph Henry as Annas, and George Johnson as Judas. The freshman chorus of the department of Music rendered selected parts of Dubois' immortal "Seven Last Words."

DEBATING

After a long lapse of interest, Xavier has successfully brought debating to the fore in the community. Interest in intercollegiate debating was revived during the past month in two interesting oratorical meetings: first with an excellent debate between Florida A. & M. and Xavier, and later with Lincoln University of Jefferson City, Mo., debating the question: "Resolved that, the Nations of the Western Hemisphere should form a Permanent Union."

TEACHERS' RETREAT

The Annual Teachers' Retreat at Xavier proved to be an overwhelming success under the able direction of the Rev. Anselm N. Townsend, O.P., an instructor at Dominican College, New Orleans.

JACQUES MARITAIN

ON

HUMAN EQUALITY

Early this year, the distinguished Catholic philosopher, Jacques Maritain, delivered a lecture at Marquette University on "Human Equality." In the present and past two issues, the INTERRACIAL REVIEW was privileged to publish a digest from the manuscript which constitutes, in part, the first chapter of a forthcoming book bearing the title, "Ransoming the Time."—Editor's note.

From a point of view that is neither nominalist nor idealist but realist, the unity or equality of nature among men is not a mere word nor a fictitious realisation of an abstract species. It is real and concrete just as much as the likenesses and affinities which in the external world serve as bases for that positive unity which species in nature have within our minds. For the universality of our ideas is grounded in things. Equality in nature among men resides in their concrete communion in the mystery of the human species; it does not lie in a mere idea, it is hidden in the heart of the individual and of the concrete, in the roots of the substance of each man. Obscure because residing on the level of substance and its root energies, of first importance because it is bound up with the very sources of being, human equality reveals itself, like the nearness of a neighbor; to every one who practises it; indeed it is identical with that proximity of all to each, and of each to all. If you treat a man as a man, that is to say, if you respect and love the secret he carries within him and the good of which he is capable, you to that same extent make effective in yourself his closeness in nature and his equality or unity in nature with yourself. It is the natural love of the human being for his own kind which reveals and makes real the unity of species among men. As long as love does not call it forth, that unity slumbers in a metaphysical retreat where we can perceive it only as an abstraction.

In the common experience of misery, in the common sorrow of great catastrophes, in humiliation and distress, under the blows of the executioner or the bombs of total war, in concentration camps, in the hovels of starving people in great cities, in any com-

mon necessity, the doors of solitude open and man recognizes man. Man also recognizes man when the sweetness of a great joy or of a great love for an instant clears his eyes. Whenever he does a service to his fellows or is helped by them, whenever he shares the same elementary actions and the same elementary emotions, whenever he does a service for his neighbor, the simplest action reveals to him, both in others and in himself, the common resources and the common goodness—primitive, rudimentary, wounded, unconscious and repressed—of human nature. At once the realness of the equality and community in nature is unfolded to him as a very precious thing, an unknown marvel, a fundamental basis of existence, more important than all the differences an inequalities superimposed upon it. But when he shall have gone back to his workshop joys, he will forget this discovery.

The authentic instinct of equality in nature which naturally underlies and affects the fragile conception that we can gain of this equality so long as our heedless intelligence retains that realistic perspective is no secondary instinctive tendency, no matter how deep-seated within us, like pride or envy; it is a primary instinct, the instinct of communication founded on a common membership in the same specific whole. A realistic conception of equality in nature is a natural prerequisite for Christian thought and life.

Christianity confirms and emphasizes the concrete sense of equality in nature by affirming its historical and genealogical character, and by teaching that here we are concerned with a blood relationship, properly so-called, all men being descended from the same original parents, and being brothers in Adam before they are brothers in Christ. Heirs of the same sin and the same weaknesses, but heirs also of the same original greatness, all created in the image of God and all called to the same supernatural dignity as adopted sons of God, and to co-heirship with Christ the Saviour, all redeemed by the same life-giving Blood, and thus destined to become equals of the angels in heaven, what Christian can look upon man with the demented gaze of racist pride? The unity of mankind is the basis of Christianity.

INTERRACIAL REVIEW

It is because the Christian conception of life is based upon so concrete, broad and fruitful a certainty of the equality and community in nature between man that it at the same time insists so forcefully on the orderings and hierarchies which spring and should spring from the very heart of this essential community, and upon the particular inequalities which they necessarily involve. For in the world of man as in the world of creation, there can be no concourse or communication, no life or movement without differentiation, nor differentiation without inequalities.

Every man is a man in his very essence, but no man is man in essence, that is, exhausts in himself all the riches of the various perfections of which the human kind is capable. In this sense all the diversity of perfections and virtues distributed through the generations of men in space and time is but a varied participation in the common and inexhaustible potentialities of man.

The term *unity of mankind* is the Christian name, and the truest name of the equality in nature between men. It helps us to purify the idea of that equality of all from erroneous association and implications, whether they arise from a geometric imagination or from a passion for leveling. An arithmetic equality between two numbers excludes all inequality between them, but equality in nature between men, or the unity of human nature, insists for its development upon individual inequalities. To affirm the equality in nature between men is for idealistic egalitarianism to wish that all inequality among them should dis-

appear. To affirm the equality in nature between men, or the unity of human nature, is for Christian realism to wish that those fruitful inequalities, whereby the multitude of individuals participates in the common treasure of humanity, should develop themselves. Egalitarian idealism interprets the word equality on a plane surface; Christian realism interprets it with the dimension of depth also. Not only should one conceive equality as something fundamental from which arise an infinite number of differences, but equality itself is a profound thing—organic, intensive, and qualitative. Let us not say that one man is as good as another; that is a nihilistic formula which acquires real meaning only from deep religious pessimism (*Vanity of vanities; all men are liars*). Let us say that in a man are *virtualiter* all men. The Son of Man Who “knows what there is within men” perceives in each all other men.

Thus we must assert both *that* equality in essence which unites men in rational nature and *those* individual inequalities which arise from this very unity or equality. But from this very fact we also recognize that it is the equality which is primary, and that the inequalities are secondary. Because, speaking absolutely, the community of essence is of greater importance than individual differences; the root is more important than the branches.

We regret that limitations of space have permitted us to print only a digest of Mr. Maritain's profound treatment of human equality. We earnestly recommend our readers to Mr. Maritain's forthcoming book, RANSOMING THE TIME, for a complete exposition of his thought on the matter.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND NEGRO AMERICANS

*Statement of Committee on
Negro Americans in Defense Industries*

Justice for Negro Americans in the program for National Defense is a searching test of American democracy. Our concern for democracy in Europe or elsewhere lacks reality and sincerity if our plans and policies disregard the rights of minorities in our own country. The guarantee of such rights is established by our historic notional charters of freedom and constitutional government as applicable to all

our people without regard to race, color or creed.

It seems especially important to observe these in letter and spirit in our national industrial defense program in a year when we have voted with overwhelming public support to make our country a great “arsenal” for the democracies and we celebrate the Sesquicentennial of the ratification of the Bill of Rights. We can urge this with the more assurance

because there are notable cases, both North and South, where Negro mechanics and artisans have been long employed in certain industries and projects with satisfaction to all concerned.

Negro Americans favor all suitable tests of fitness for any given job, but naturally and rightly oppose those based merely on a race. Evidences are increasing of the exclusion of their skilled workers from certain defense industries and of the frequent refusal to admit qualified Negro students into training and apprenticeship programs. Among the many illustrations of such discrimination are the following:

That some corporations of national importance receiving large government contracts have shown themselves unwilling to employ skilled Negro workers or have taken on so few as scarcely to affect the general situation.

That in spite of a few creditable exceptions, companies manufacturing aircraft, automobiles, and gasoline motors are among those where such conditions prevail.

That, despite the excellent record of colored men in shipbuilding during the last World War and the encouraging experience in some Navy Yards and private shipbuilding plants today, there are companies with defense shipping contracts which either restrict Negro workers, other than common laborers, to semi-skilled jobs or refuse their employment altogether.

That some of the leading industrial plants in different parts of the country do not approve the training of Negroes in defense classes even when these are financed by the Federal Government.

That there are cities in widely separated states where Negroes are scarcely receiving any opportunities to obtain the special training needed to supplement the existing group of skilled mechanics. The fact that they are not being employed in certain industries except as common laborers is used as a basis for restriction in training opportunities for them, while lack of such training will probably be used to justify failure to employ more Negroes.

No thinking person can fail to realize the loss to the cause of national defense through such conditions involving the Negro tenth of our population, and their harmful effect upon the character and attitudes of Negro Americans who are eager to give concrete expression to their patriotism. Frustration, destruction of morale, and the opening of the doors of subversive agitators opposed to the American way of life, will be almost inevitable consequences.

The extent of these discriminations; their basic causes; the relative degree of responsibility for them of management, labor and the public; and the best way of meeting them deserve prompt, thorough and impartial investigation.

In so far as ignorance and race prejudice are responsible for determining our attitude toward any American citizen in the present emergency, to that degree we do uproot the moral bases of our American civilization and make way for the totalitarian scheme of life. Dictatorship aims to dominate the world by force, and to condemn certain racial groups permanently to subservient and inferior status. If we oppose Axis doctrines we must, to be consistent, oppose all race prejudice at home.

Nor is it a question of the injury to the Negro alone; it is also a question of the harm done to the nation's unity and morale and its reputation abroad by an unjust attitude toward any group in our population. There has been some progress in recent years but if race prejudice is given a new foothold under existing world conditions it is bound to spread and poison the entire body politic.

The country's immediate needs demand the cooperation of all willing, loyal and competent workers. Similar cooperation will be needed in the work of reconstruction. Those, therefore, who raise unjust barriers at this critical period are responsible for obstructing the national defense and welfare.

This is no time for Americans to compromise with race prejudice and its attendant discriminations in industrial defense programs, whether public or private. It is destructive of those basic essentials of civilization—political, economic, cultural, educational, religious—which the ages have built upon the concept of the dignity and destiny of the human person. We maintain, therefore, that the time has

come for the lasting repudiation of race prejudice as an influence in determining the policies of the nation. The Brotherhood of Man—based on the Fatherhood of God—is no mere adornment of a democratic society. It is accepted by religious and patriotic groups as fundamental. It should involve an impar-

tial and inflexible justice practiced and experienced by all.

We commend this statement to the thoughtful consideration of the American people, and more particularly of leaders in government, industry, labor and the organs of public opinion.

ST. LOUIS PROGRAM

They call themselves "The Workers of the Sacred Heart," this group of young Catholics of St. Louis, Mo., organized to promote interracial understanding and cooperation. Their ages range from seventeen to twenty-five, and some of them are still attending high school. In their private lives, by example and precept, they seek to spread interest in the Negro and to combat racial prejudice.

Their objectives are five-fold: personal sanctification, to spread devotion to the Sacred Heart, by study and mutual discussion to increase knowledge of interracial problems, to foster a truly Catholic social life.

Meeting for the first time on July 15, 1940, in the rectory of St. Michael's Church, situated in the colored section of St. Louis, the group gathers regularly every Monday evening. Spiritual moderator is the Rev. Carroll Boland, S.J., an assistant priest at St. Malachy's.

"The business meeting," reports Richard Ryan, president, "consists of an opening prayer led by the moderator, which is followed by the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting, roll-call, treasury report, and collection of dues. The reports of committees, and discussion of old and new business follow. The remainder of the meeting is then turned over to the moderator who conducts what we call the spiritual part of the meeting. This consists of a half-hour study and discussion of Father La Farge's book, *Interracial Justice*, and readings of timely articles from various magazines, especially THE INTERRACIAL REVIEW. The reason we are studying this matter is because we believe that before we can do any real

apostolic work in this field, we must first understand the difficulties involved.

"Our activities so far, although few, are devoted wholeheartedly to the Negro cause. We visit the Negro hospital on the second Sunday of every month to distribute Catholic literature to the patients. We are at present working out details of a radio program which we hope to present in the near future to make our work better known. On the third Sunday of every month we have a group Mass and Communion. We also, from time to time, organize parties for the relaxation and enjoyment of our members."

The group has great hopes of someday being an important unit in the Church's interracial program. As yet small and little known, it hopes to report steady progress in the future.



A group of members and the Rev. Carroll Boland, S.J., Moderator, (lower right)

THE RIGHT TO WORK

By GEORGE STREATOR

The kind of education that a group or race receives determines in the long run its economic and social position. Because Negro leaders have known this, they have tended to shy away from industrial education, feeling that too great emphasis on tools and machines would make us the laborers of America. That danger passed—if it ever actually existed—and Negroes are now received in the professions, the arts and sciences. All is not settled however, since education is a part of the civilization now in process of being formed the world over. In the brief discussion that follows, a few of these challenging problems are reviewed in outline—G. S.

The controversy over the kind of education to be given in Negro schools reached its climax in the decade that preceded World War I. It was in 1916, indeed, on the eve of that war, that Dr. W. E. B. DuBois let loose a blast against the administration of Fisk University for what he saw as an attempt to destroy Fisk as a college and to convert it into an industrial school. Blood ran hot in this controversy, but since that time, instead of Fisk becoming an industrial school, Tuskegee Institute—Booker T. Washington's school—has become a liberal arts college, with its critics arguing that more emphasis has been placed upon "drawing room culture" than on industrial education.

Of course, industrial education is more complicated today than the ideas formulated by Mr. Washington. It is doubtful that any technical school can match the training gained through actual participation in factory work. Nevertheless, there are certain fundamentals that a good school can impart, and chief among these is *mathematics*. In all my experiences, there was never a more detested course of study in Negro schools. As a teacher at St. Paul school it was looked upon as something that everybody took but nobody wanted. And at Bennett College for Women, the President accepted it, but most of the faculty fought it more or less on the principle that girls should learn to cook, sew, can, knit, clean . . . without realizing that an organized and thorough

mental discipline fits in any place!

Obviously, this may stir up a hornet's nest. I admit this, but my eyes tell me that colleges all through New England are teaching girls to handle machinery. And to handle machinery—to say nothing of improving on it—mathematical reasoning is required.

The point of view that I am setting forth is in direct opposition to the dream that floats out of Columbia's Teachers' College, the fountain head of Negro education and its direction. Up at Teachers' College the great drive has been on "methods"; that is to say, it is easier to get a degree in "how to teach a subject" than it is to take one in that subject itself. This has meant the death knell for most Negro colleges which tried to break through and teach a few fundamentals. It was easier to teach "how to teach".

But to get back to the start. Negro skilled mechanics will not be developed without strong mathematical discipline, no matter how it is imparted, whether by NYA or WPA. And unless real emphasis is placed on giving Negro youth this kind of training, there is no use talking about trade-union segregation. It is true that Negro workers have been, and still are, victimized by race prejudice. To meet this condition, most of the older workers have shunted their children into "cultured" fields, mainly into the teaching profession, most of them holding a distorted point of view on the organization of human society.

It is true that white trade-unions have made the going hard, but the defense has been more futile than the attack. What better could hostile Northern trade-unions want, but that there are so few skilled Negro mechanics to worry about! What is more disastrous than to have trained a generation of Negro leaders—mainly primed for politics—with no stable class of workers to lead?

When we agitate for equal opportunity we must train people for the jobs we demand. The real *bottle neck* for Negroes right now, is the distorted *philosophy of education* that its educators, school teachers, social workers, even the agitators, hold towards "Negro" education.

I have written this well aware of the refusal of the airplane factories to employ thirteen boys in New York. Nevertheless, we can sweep these narrow-minded business men down the hatch when we have trained thousands who will not be denied!

AS YOUTH SEES IT

EDITED BY YOUTH

"**N**ever before in the history of our nation have we had any official bulletin representing us and telling our affairs. It has taken the youth to wake us up. I wish them the greatest success on their new venture of editing the *De Porrean* and may God bless their work." With this exhortation the Rev. Cornelius J. Abern, Pastor of Our Lady Queen of Angels Church in Newark, N. J., prefixes the opening issue of the "*De Porrean*." The "*De Porrean*" is a parish newspaper edited by the members of the *De Porres Catholic Youth Club*, an organization composed of the youth of Our Lady Queens of Angels Church in Newark and the Church of Christ the King in Jersey City, N. J. Both of these are Negro parishes. The paper is characterized by the serious tone of religious earnestness, as well as the light humor and quenchless energy of young people. Not only does it serve as a means of announcing the various religious and social activities of the parishes, but it carries such fervent and hope-inspiring remarks as this: "We have great confidence and pray that the day is not far off when more and more of the Negro race will see the light of the true Faith, beckoning them to 'Come and follow Me.'" How far off is the day when it may be said of all of us, "It has taken the youth to wake us up?"

To those of us who are still "students" (and who, of any age, does not come under that category?) Archbishop Ciceroni, the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, addressed the following words in a speech before the Second Congress of the National Federation of Catholic College Students: "When students dedicate themselves with specific problems in the field of social work and social action, the more ready will they understand the application of the Church's teachings and the more effectively will they render service to the cause of Christ. As loyal and devoted followers of Christ, you can be a great help in the restoration of the social order; keep always present that for this restoration there is but one way, the application of the truth and charity and justice of the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

The Supreme Court of the United States of America, on April 28th, handed down the following decision: "Negroes are entitled to Pullman accommodations and other first-class services equal to those which white passengers receive on railroad trains." This momentous decision was rendered in the case of Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, the only Negro member of Congress who, in April, 1937, "was removed from a Pullman to a second-class Negro car as he neared the Arkansas border." "It is the individual who is entitled to the equal protection of the laws—not merely a group of individuals, or a body of persons according to their numbers."

Chief Justice Hughes said in answer to those officials who sought to justify the lack of accommodations by reason of the infrequency of Negro passengers. We who have been taught the infinite preciousness of the individual to his Creator have no difficulty accepting this statement of Judge Hughes. In view of existing evils, however, there must be many to whom this truth has not been made clear. Might we not, by our living, make this truth so lucid that the nation shall one day see not only the abolition of Jim Crowism, but of all unnecessary sectionalism whatever?

A pertinent observation might here be made: It seems rather a pity that this decision had to be reached through so tortuous a maze of legal technical gyrations.

"The Most Rev. Jules B. Jeannard, Bishop of Lafayette, wrote a letter of appreciation to Thomas M. Callahan, editor of the *Daily Advertiser*, Lafayette (La.), newspaper, for the account the paper carried of the departure of fifteen Negro volunteers from Lafayette for army training. His Excellency wrote also to the editor words he imagined one of these volunteers might speak on behalf of the group and added comments the volunteer might make on conditions at the Lafayette Charity Hospital, a State institution." (N.C.W. News Service, March 24). We cannot here quote Bishop Jeannard's entire letter, but we submit some of the imaginary remarks he attributed to the Negro spokesman, with the hope that those of our Youth who have not borne the disadvantages resulting from discrimination will work towards the swift and total destruction of all discrimination and intolerance.

"Our people," Bishop Jeannard's volunteer spokesman says, "poor though they are, pay their school-taxes like the rest of our children, counted in, every year, when the tax is being apportioned, are all but counted out when it is distributed among the public schools of the parish (civil). Our schools are so few in number and so overcrowded that many of our children are deprived of the most elementary instruction. Were it not for the six Catholic schools in Lafayette parish (civil), with their enrollment of just 1,800, only a small percentage of our children would know how to read and write. . . . May we add a word, too, about the Lafayette Charity Hospital? Like other charitable hospitals in the state, it was intended for the care of the poor, and our people are the poorest and the most helpless. We are allowed 64 out of 140 beds in that institution, and these are in a flimsy frame out-building which is a veritable trap. Our sick—and they average around 90—are so crowded that it is not uncommon to see two in one bed and one on the floor under the bed. . . . The doctors and attendants are as devoted as they can be, and for this we are humbly grateful. But, notwithstanding, we are to suffer and not to expect our full rights, we are human and it cuts us to the heart to see our sick fathers, mothers, wives, and children huddled together like cattle in a stockyard."

Need we say more? Further eloquence lies only in action.
—MARGARET MCGRAW



PLAYS And A Point Of View

By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

DEMOCRACY LTD.

The sudden war between Iraq and Britain, obviously provoked by the former nation, probably came as a bewildering surprise to the good people who have been led to believe that Britain is valiantly fighting to defend democracy. To Anglophile apologists, sipping cocktails safely in New York or perilously in London, the thing simply doesn't make sense. On that point all temperately thinking men can agree with them. We can concede further points. British imperialism at its worst is preferable to Nazi ideology at its best. The majority of Britons, as individuals, may be as strongly convinced of Aryan superiority as the most fanatical Nazis, but racism is not embodied in the common law of Britain or officially enforced by government authority. The Iraqi are a non-Aryan people, indeed, a semitic people, and according to Nazi ideology fit only to be slaves. Then why does Iraq attack Britain at an embarrassing time when Nazi Germany appears to be the only ultimate beneficiary of the conflict?

Johanes Steel, Dorothy Thompson and Ludwig Lore, along with others of their ilk, will probably assert that it is because venal Iraq politicians are selling out the true interests of their people. Such assertions will be in line with the British propaganda that is flooding the country but will have no more factual basis than the assertion that this writer is anti-Negro because he has frequently denounced Negro chauvinism. The actual reason why Iraq fights beside Germany against Britain, of course, is too obvious for starry-eyed Anglophiles to see.

To the subject peoples of the Empire, traditional English respect for the dignity of the human personality, implying freedom to worship, talk, assemble and move according to conscience, is an abstraction and a hearsay. On the other hand, the intrigues of British interracial diplomats, the arrogance of British colonial officials and the rapacity of British capitalism are everyday realities. To people with the ability for constructive thinking, principles are more important than facts. Facts change from day to day, even from hour to hour, but in the long run ideas create conditions. But most people, regardless of race or station, are not capable of comprehending the significance of abstract principles. All of us are impressed by the facts of life we encounter in our everyday living.

A similar feeling seems to be worldwide among subject races and under-privileged classes. The writer, who happens to be a manual laborer, associates daily with Italian, Porto Rican, Filipino, Irish and Negro workmen. His Latin

and Asiatic fellow workers are about ninety per cent pro-Axis. The Negroes are about seventy per cent anti-British while the Irish are one hundred per cent pro-American and pro-Irish. I forgot to mention the Jews, who are more numerous among us than any other group. My Jewish fellow workers are one hundred per cent anti-Nazi and about seventy per cent anti-British. It is hardly necessary to add that my fellow workers are preponderantly opposed to any policy that may lead to American participation in the war.

Now one might read our metropolitan newspapers for weeks without suspecting that this inarticulate hostility to British torism exists. Our big name columnists are either unaware of it or are determined to ignore it. Dorothy Thompson, for instance, writes in a recent column: "Texans loathe tyranny. For Texas became, first a free republic, then a member of United States, as the result of a war on a dictator." But Miss Thompson does not mention that Negroes in Texas are denied political and civil rights and cannot even enter a motion-picture theatre except under humiliating conditions, and that 483 persons had been lynched in Texas as of the middle of 1940, and that all the congressmen and senators from the state have consistently voted against a national anti-lynching law, except one, Congressman Maverick, and that Maverick was defeated in the next congressional election. When Miss Thompson wrote that Texans loathe tyranny, she neglected to add, as a postscript, except when they are the tyrants. Here, it may be relevant to quote a competent Negro reporter quoting a Texas Negro, "I want the vote because I am entitled to it," the quotee of the third part said, "I want it on general principles but I hope and pray for just one thing—that I will live and he will live long enough for me to vote against old Tom Connally."

The colored reporter quotes another Negro, this one on a Jim Crow car rolling out of Oklahoma. "That man Hitler," the Negro said, "is changing things mighty fast."

Jumping from Iraq to Texas, to Oklahoma may appear to be traveling in long hops but there is a community of feeling among the under men all over the globe. It is a resentment of imperialism, political and economic, that is essentially wholesome but dialectically confused and wrong-headed and potentially vicious. They are not helped toward understanding or charity when they observe the records of the most assertive leaders of "democracy," excepting one, Franklin Roosevelt.

Churchill, posing as a savior of democracy has never had any sympathy with the common people except the minimum of paternalism which would insure them enough creature comforts to enable them to work efficiently and occasionally dance on the viage green for the diversion of their betters. He even fought tooth and nail against so mild an extension of democracy to a subject people as the Government of India Act.

The saviors of democracy on our own side of the water are even less prepossessing. Glass, Pepper, Ellender, Byrd and the above mentioned Connally, along with their Southern colleagues, who are the backbone of the Congressional war party, all hail from States in which the culture level is almost as low as that of the recently extinguished Kingdom

of Yugoslavia and practically all of them have opposed adequate relief, the rights of labor, the abolition of the poll tax and the anti-lynching legislation. Apparently they are willing to die for democracy, so long as none of it seeps into America.

Another thing that makes Negroes gag is the lionizing of Anzac soldiers. Negroes know practically nothing of the amicable interracial relations which obtain in New Zealand. They know almost as little of Australia, but the little that they know about the latter country is bad. The only distinction they make between Australia and Alabama is that the former is farther away. They cannot imagine the Australian, and, incidentally, South African governments fighting for the kind of democracy Negroes want.

Because Negroes and other under-privileged races and classes are inarticulate does not mean that they are dumb. They have the fake defenders of democracy in the political world tabbed. They will have more confidence in the Dorothy Thompsons, Johannes Steels, Samuel Graftons, and other musketeers for freedom when they show an inkling of understanding of the aspirations of all oppressed races and classes. Negroes are not interested in Democracy, Ltd. They want unlimited and universal democracy and they want to be led toward that goal by men who have always been opposed to all forms of oppression.

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE WAR

By HARRY MCNEILL

THE dictum "there are two sides (at least) to every question" certainly applies to the problem of what attitude Negroes (and Americans in general) ought to have toward the current European war. In the March and present issues of the *Interracial Review*, our esteemed columnist, collaborator and friend, Theophilus Lewis, took the perfectly legitimate liberty of expressing one view regarding the war. I now take the similar liberty of propounding a quite different interpretation of the present situation.

In his March column Mr. Lewis asks: "Are the British really fighting for universal and unqualified democracy and freedom for all men of all races irrespective of class or geography or color of skin? If they are, why don't they say so—in plain and unequivocal words?"

By way of an answer to his question, Mr. Lewis continues, "So long as Britain keeps her war aims a close secret which Winston Churchill confides to no one except himself, Negroes will suspect that Britain is fighting for the same objective her soldiers and diplomats have always fought for since the time of Queen Bess—the expansion and defense of the Empire.

Yet Mr. Lewis admits that the "last thing Negroes desire, of course, is a decisive German victory. The Nazis have made it clear that after they win the war they intend to reduce the non-Aryan races to slavery."

However, Mr. Lewis remains skeptical about the benefits of a British victory. "A German collapse will leave Russia the only great power on the Continent. As it has always been Britain's policy to maintain a balance of power in

Europe, her diplomacy and finance will immediately begin the reconstruction of Germany as a counterweight against Russia."

By way of commentary on Mr. Lewis' view I should like to make the following observations: When speaking of the Soviet Union, it seems to me that we must distinguish between Russia as a military power, and Russia as a powerhouse of revolutionary doctrine having transmission lines throughout the world.

Let us assume the best that can be made of the Russian military machine, let us suppose that its strength is commensurate with that of a country enormously rich in resource, covering one sixth of the earth's surface, and numbering nearly 200 million inhabitants, let us discount the worst that can be said of the Russian military machine, namely, its dependence upon an unstable, inefficient collectivist system, its dependence in a day of mechanized warfare upon a newly and very incompletely industrialized economy, its dependence upon a very defective transportation system, its periodic purges, its unenviable record in Finland, etc. It remains difficult to see how "a decisive British victory" could safely leave this machine intact especially since its connivance with the Nazis made the present German aggression possible. The British are not likely to trust for many a day a Russian counterweight to Germany any more than a German counterweight to Russia. The precedent now established of collaboration between the two will serve as a nightmare for a long while. Moreover, a decisive British victory will see the restoration of Poland, the Baltic countries, lost Finnish territories, and possibly some internal changes in Russia itself. All of these would alter the European picture considerably and *fin de siècle* balance of power politics.

Regarding Russia as a powerhouse of revolutionary doctrine tending to blow up capitalistic countries from within: nearly all Marxists are agreed, openly or secretly, that the Nazi-Soviet pact dealt a mortal blow to Moscow-inspired Communism throughout the world. Workers of the world are coming to recognize the comrades for what they are. They are merely Soviet bundists seeking primarily the furtherance of Russian nationalist foreign policy. They are seeking only secondarily (if at all, and then as a blind for their primary concern) the interests of the masses as the Marxists view those interests. Moreover, Russia's noble experiment in Marxist theory has produced far from noble results. It has tended to slacken the Marxist dynamic among the proletariat. Thus it is hard to envisage the triumph of Russian totalitarianism which Mr. Lewis foresees in the event of a stalemate in the present war. In this case Russia would appear as the villain of the piece which made the internecine slaughter possible by its August 1939 pact and hence as a common ghoulish enemy. Some observers think that such a situation would unite Western Europe in a crusade against Russia. Her dubious military machine could not stand against even the weakened but united western nations. This crusade would indeed evoke support from the far corners of the earth. There is hardly a nation in which a majority of citizens has not been provoked by pestiferous Soviet foreign

agents. Like gnats, they have swarmed over the social wounds of the country.

But to return to Mr. Lewis' original queries: "Are the British really fighting for universal and unqualified democracy and freedom for all men of all races irrespective of class or geography or color of skin? If they are, why don't they say so—in plain and unequivocal words?"

My answer is that I don't believe they are. For them to say that they were would be an obvious lie.

In the last war many people made an erroneous interpretation of the perfectly legitimate formula "Fighting to make the world safe for democracy." This standard was essentially negative. It meant chiefly fighting to ward off threats to the existence of countries and peoples *desirous of working out* a democratic society. If the formula had a positive intent it could have been stated in the forthright phrase "Fighting to make the world democratic." Many people mistakenly thought the latter to be the meaning of the famous slogan. They were disappointed when democracy failed to spring forth fully armed and immortal in every country set up by the Treaty of Versailles.

Of course, full-fledged democracy is not established by the fiat of statesmen or legislators. Witness the status of the American Negro seventy-five years after the Civil War. True democracy is justice reigning in society. It is the moral virtue of justice prevalent among the people and embodied in their institutions, laws and customs. As such, democracy is of slow growth (Marxian revolutionists to the contrary).

Accordingly it is easy to refute the claims of zealots who pretend that the British are now fighting for world-wide democracy and who nourish the illusion that victory for the Empire will introduce democracy overnight into all lands and among all peoples thereby saved from Nazi domination. But in all fairness it must be recognized that although the statements of these zealots may have been welcomed in official circles for whatever value they might have among the uncritical, they have never been given official utterance or sanction. On the contrary, to date the British government has deliberately and consistently refused to define its war aims when pressed to do so. Hence it cannot be blamed for the extravagant claims of certain partisans of the British cause.

Naturally it is galling to hear notorious flouters of democracy in their own bailiwicks singing the praises of democracy at a safe distance. Their record is bad. (And if I were to indulge in some long distance psycho-analysis, I might say that their singing is "compensation" for their long repressed democratic instincts). But in the case of Mr. Churchill his past is not at issue. He is at present leader of the British war effort and on that score seems to be doing a job satisfactory to most people save the Nazis. He refuses to be deterred from that task by a discussion of peace aims and doubtless it is incumbent upon others, possessing the necessary talent and leisure, to concentrate thought on the provisions of a just peace.

We do not live in a Manichean world where 100-per-cent good will is opposed by 100-per-cent evil. We live in a world of mixed goods and evils and often it is the weighing of evils that determines our choice. As in marriage, business associ-

ates and friends, so in political allegiances we have to choose among very imperfect goods which may mean taking the lesser of two evils.

Mr. Lewis admits that the Negro peoples have made progress in the past 300 years in a world where the British Empire has loomed large. He admits that a German victory would wipe out that program. Thus a clear choice is indicated. The British influence has been far from perfect, but half a loaf is better than none.

In this friendly disagreement I would at all costs avoid the pose of a white man lecturing to the Negro when he himself has never felt the black man's burden. I, too, have grievances against the British by reason of my Irish ancestry and by reason of our capitalist society, largely of English making, which has reduced all of us both white and Negro to the status of wage slaves. I, too, yearn for the better world envisaged by the Encyclicals. But when I think of what has happened to Encyclicals and pastorals and to the Church in general in Germany, and when I think of what would happen to all these in a Nazi dominated world, my own conclusion is clear. Alright, the British are defending no more than the *status quo*. But that *status quo* has permitted three hundred years of progress for the Negro and permits the untrammelled working of the Church. Victorious Nazis with their nihilistic revolution and racist heresies would throttle these at their very source.

FROM HERE AND THERE DURING THE MONTH

● THE NEGRO WORKER IN NEW YORK CITY

The Welfare Council of New York City has just published a pamphlet on "The Negro Worker in New York City," which was prepared in an interesting manner by Lester B. Granger under the direction of the Council's Committee on Negro Welfare of which Miss Dorothy Straus is chairman. The pamphlet emphasises that many of the problems that now beset the New York Negro are due to unemployment and urges the expansion of the job frontier for the Negro. It is also pointed out that no less than 50,000 Negroes are on the relief roles of the city and that this relief is paid for out of taxes of which the city's share is \$20,000,000 annually. The obvious conclusion is that it is cheaper to provide work for such people than to maintain them on relief roles.

—N. Y. Age

● ALABAMA CATHOLICS AIDED BY NOTED NEGRO

Bolling, Ala.—St. Teresa's mission band and village, in its plan to utilize the products of the village and of Alabama to the greatest advantage, will receive valuable assistance from Dr. G. W. Carver of Tuskegee Institute, Negro scientist and one of the country's leading chemists. Dr. Carver has

devoted most of his time to research and has produced many useful articles from Southern agricultural products. The Rev. A. W. Terminiello is director of St. Teresa's mission band and village.

● CONVERSIONS

IN MISSISSIPPI

Natchez, Miss., Feb 22.—An average of one convert for each 83 Catholics in Mississippi, or 4.85 converts for each priest in the Diocese of Natchez, which embraces the entire State, is reported for 1940 by the ordinary, the Most Rev. Richard O. Gerow. The statistics show 452 conversions, almost evenly divided between white and colored. This is a total increase of 37 over the previous year. Compilation of exact convert statistics began in 1934. That year the converts numbered 190. The largest number was in 1939, when there were 415 converts.

● HAITIAN PRESIDENT-ELECT

VISITS ROCK CASTLE SCHOOLS

Rock Castle, Va., April 28—The student bodies of St. Emma's Industrial and Agricultural Institute and St. Francis de Sales School, institutions for Colored boys and girls conducted respectively by the Benedictine Fathers and the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, yesterday greeted the President-elect of Haiti, Elie Lescot.

The day's program included a parade by the student cadet corps, an R.O.T.C. unit, an inspection tour of the institution's academic, agricultural, industrial and trades departments, and Benediction in the chapel.

With a view toward improving the industrial and agricultural resources of his country, through the introduction of the latest scientific methods in these fields, the President-elect devoted the greater portion of his visit to the tour of the industrial and agricultural facilities of St. Emma's.

— EDITORIAL —

LYNCHING AND TREASON

Nothing that can happen in this country is better grist for the Nazi propaganda mill than a lynching. Even though the number of such killings has declined in recent years; even though we are, on the whole, a law-abiding nation and, on the whole, give every accused man his day in court—in spite of these facts, every lynching proves that at some time in some community our people are not living up to their pretensions.

It is therefore literally true that the unknown men who killed a Negro prisoner near Quincy, Fla., on Tuesday morning were doubly steeped in crime. They murdered a human being who had not been convicted of a crime, though he may have been guilty of one. They also betrayed their country.

Public opinion, backed by efficient police action, can put a stop to lynchings. Something is rotten in any area in which they repeatedly occur and in which the guilty men go unpunished.

—N. Y. Times

BOOKS

GROWING UP IN THE BLACK BELT. By Charles Johnson. American Council on Education, Washington, D. C. 360 pages, \$2.25

This is one of the series in the American Youth Commission's studies on Negro youth. It has been carried out under the direction of Professor Charles S. Johnson, head of the department of social science at Fisk University. Because of the painstaking effort in presenting the opinion of Negro youth about environmental and economic problems—which opinions it proceeds to analyze in a scholarly and objective fashion—this work offers to specialists and laymen alike something that is unique and constructive.

The yearning to escape into a world of better education, better jobs and greater recreational and social opportunities grows more intense as generation succeeds generation. The North is the great Promised Land and to those who, without comforts, security or prospect of a better future, are diverted into empty dreams of escape. Boys and girls grow critical of standards and conditions that have become traditional. Even those whose economic status is higher than the average are dissatisfied over the lack of recreational outlets. Says one seventeen-year-old Negro girl: "Folks here say if you dance, you dance to the devil." There is dissatisfaction even with the Negro churches where so many turn for respite from their grinding lot.

The trend of rural Negro youth is toward stricter moral and sex standards and a more stable family life. In the upper class families rigid moral control is a major characteristic, contrasting with the frequent tragedies that beget much misery and disease among the lower strata. It is a fair conclusion that the moral standards of the Negro, by no means that which his detractor would have us believe, respond in ratio to his economic status and are invariably influenced for the better by the creation of healthful and normal outlets for his adolescent energies.

The reader is struck by the essential similarity in white and Negro reactions toward the externals in community and individual living. The Negro is to be admired rather than blamed for his restlessness under conditions of insecurity and limited opportunity. The home is often the symbol of the desire to escape from the drab hardness of life. The home of one tenant farmer, for instance, is a one-story frame structure. It shows signs of age and deterioration, but in spite of this its cleanliness and a fresh coat of whitewash make it appear attractive. Inside the furnishings are few, but accentuated by neatness.

There are revealing glimpses into the minds of Negro parents, not hardened, but saddened by the realities as they speculate on the future of their children. "Farming ain't like it once was," one father says. "Things is pretty tight now. There was a time when a man made a right smart living on crops, but now we work just as hard and lond and don't have much to show for it." Mothers worry over dangers to their girls and warn them against the occasions that have brought grief and shame. The pattern is always the pattern of poverty anxious at least to maintain its rectitude.

A wealth of field research has been devoted to the attitudes of Negro youth toward other Negroes and toward themselves as members of a racial minority group. The greatest degree of racial pride exists generally among those of broader education and in areas more effectively detached from widespread economic hardship. The chapters dealing with Negro-white relations are an interesting supplement to Dr. John Dollard's "Caste and Class in a Southern Town," published in 1937.

"In general," says Dr. Johnson, "the Negro continues to occupy a subordinate position, but the fact that he is struggling against this status rather than accepting it, and that the white group is constantly redefining its own status in relation to the Negro, indicates that in the future, if one cannot safely predict progress in race relations, he can at least predict change." Not an overly optimistic conclusion this, but at least the author and his many earnest collaborators have shown why optimism is rarely to be found in the Black Belt.

T. F. D.

Medical Facilities for the Colored in the District of Columbia

✕

This most recent publication by the Mount Department of Sociology has been widely recommended by authorities in the fields of medicine and social work as presenting—through a study of a specific area—a picture of health conditions and medical facilities the common experience of the urban American Negro.

Purchase price, 25 cents.

Copies obtainable:

✕

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
MT. ST. MARY'S COLLEGE
EMMITSBURG, MARYLAND

Do You Know

the only school in the
United States that opens
its doors to colored youth

both

grade and high school students
boarders and day scholars
Catholics and non-Catholics
boys and girls
is

SAINT BENEDICT THE MOOR INSTITUTE

1004 NORTH TENTH STREET

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Telephone: Marquette 6358, Extension 20

HAVE YOU READ

"Meet Brother Martin!"

(10c)

Here is what a leader among the Colored says of it: "We are finding that the reading of 'Meet Brother Martin!' is working like magic with our understanding of Our Divine Savior and His Holy Will. Everyone who reads it loves it and then starts out helping to spread the devotion. It has also been the means of bringing back fallen-away Catholics, etc."

What better recommendation can you seek?

INQUIRE AT

THE BLESSED MARTIN GUILD
141 EAST 65TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY



Reverend Librarian,
Immaculate Conception College
487 Michigan Ave., N. E.
Washington, D. C.

The Interracial Review—

is the only Catholic magazine devoted primarily
to the task of formulating an interracial policy.

PHILOSOPHY

THE *INTERRACIAL REVIEW* professes a theory of race relations well integrated with the whole body of Catholic social principles. *THE REVIEW HAS A UNIFIED PROGRAM.*

ORGANIZATION

THE importance of organizational activity is stressed. Significant meetings are reported. Methods and techniques are given. *THE REVIEW STANDS FOR GROUP COOPERATION!*

CURRENT OPINION

THE editorial comments present a picture of the present situation interpreted for you from the Catholic viewpoint. *THE REVIEW IS OUTSPOKEN!*

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

HOUSING, working conditions, the New Deal, education, lynching, hygienic problems — all have been treated at length in its pages. *THE REVIEW IS IN STEP WITH THE TIMES!*

YOUTH

THE feature, "As Youth Sees It" is a forum for a large and growing body of Catholic young people on fire for the cause of interracial justice. *THE REVIEW IS INSPIRATIONAL!*

*A subscription to the *INTERRACIAL REVIEW* provides you with a stimulating well-considered and Catholic-inspired opinion on one of the gravest questions of the day.*

INTERRACIAL REVIEW, 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.:

Send me the *INTERRACIAL REVIEW* for a year. (Check for \$1.00 enclosed) ☐ Bill me. ☐

Send me the following back numbers (10c; 25c for three).....

Name (*Please print*).....

Address (*Please print*).....